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OBSERVATIONS ON THE DUTY AND POLICY OF THE IMMEDIATE AND ENTIRE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE ISLAND OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THE KING OF SWEDEN.

THE island of St. Bartholomew has long been in an extremely depressed state, as regards its commerce and general welfare. This circumstance is by some attributed to the fact, that the island does not produce any valuable articles of export. For ourselves, we have no doubt that it is in an equal or greater degree attributable to the influence of slavery, which checks population, and exercises a baneful influence on morals, industry, and all those habits which contribute to promote the general prosperity. There are, however, higher considerations than these which require the abolition of slavery. Slavery is a flagrant wrong, committed upon persons who have been the victims of the slave-trade, or their descendants. The means by which they were reduced to their deplorable condition has now been rendered illegal, and is deservedly reprobated in every civilized and Christian country. We submit that the time is arrived when those who have long been held in bondage, as a consequence of the cruel injury done to themselves or their parents, in days of comparative ignorance, in forcing them from Africa, should be restored to their rightful freedom.

This duty is rendered the more imperative by the considerations that slavery is in its nature unjust, necessarily cruel, and everywhere found to promote ignorance, demoralization, and a neglect of religion.

It is unjust, by refusing to the labourer the fair reward of his toil. It is necessarily cruel, because, as a consequence of withholding a just recompence, labour is unwillingly performed, and is only obtained by the fear or infliction of punishment. The demoralization and neglect of religion produced by slavery are too well known to require any proof or illustration.

In recommending respectfully but earnestly the immediate termination of this unrighteous and no less impolitic system, we anticipate that some difficulty may be felt, arising from a supposed necessity of giving compensation to the owners of slaves. We do not think that, with the experience which now exists of the results of emancipation, any claim can in general be sustained for loss. This is not really experienced in a great majority of instances (when the new freeman is fairly treated) by depriving the slave owner of the unjust power which he now possesses. The field slave will in general be found willing to work, when freed, for moderate wages, not exceeding the present cost of maintaining the slave and his family. Hence the revenue derived from the cultivation of the land will be as large in a state of freedom as it is at present; the land alone will be found to possess a value equal to that which is now borne by the land with the slaves. In the case of domestic slaves the result will be nearly the same. A sum a little exceeding the cost of the maintenance of a slave may indeed be paid to this class of freemen, but in return a far more cheerful service will be rendered. There is one class of slaveholders only, in our opinion, who will sustain any considerable pecuniary loss from emancipation. These consist of persons who possess exclusively property in slaves, whom they let out to others, and derive a profit from the excess of the value of the slave's services over that paid for his maintenance. In this instance the manifest injustice of slavery, of which we have already spoken, is plainly apparent; nevertheless, we would recommend such slave owners to the consideration of the king, whilst performing an act of justice to the bondsman. We do not, however, think that, in any case, the act of emancipation ought to be delayed an instant from a regard to any real or imaginary loss that may be sustained by his master by a slave's restoration to freedom. The slave has a right to his own person, and to those blessings connected with the enjoyment of liberty, which is too sacred to be put in comparison with the claim to an usurped and unjust power advanced by the slave owner.

We have stated some of the motives which at present exist for the abolition of slavery. It is, however, well worthy of consideration, not only that the most important advantages would at once arise from the abolition of slavery, but that these advantages may be expected to be permanent and progressive. With an increase of population, intelligence, and virtue, St. Bartholomew may be expected hereafter to present a cheering spectacle of human happiness, and as large a measure of prosperity as its limits and natural advantages will allow.

By the performance of an act herein respectfully recommended to the king, he will have the high satisfaction of placing Sweden on a point of moral elevation in the sight of Europe, of contributing to produce those results, and of setting an example to the slaveholding nations of the world, which, it is hoped, will serve to hasten that day when the oppression of slavery and the horrors of the slave-trade shall no longer exist.

G. W. ALEXANDER.
BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN.

TENTH ARTICLE OF THE WASHINGTON TREATY.

A LETTER FROM THOMAS CLARKSON, ESQ., TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR CHARLES METCALFE, BART., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA, &c., &c.

SIR,—I have taken the liberty to write to you on the subject of the bill lately passed through Parliament relative to fugitive slaves in Canada; and knowing, as I do, your judicious and humane treatment of the free peasantry while in Jamaica, and the interest you took in their welfare, I am sure that you will receive this letter—although I am personally unknown to you—with at least your usual courtesy. I may add, as an apology for having taken this liberty, that I consider myself as deeply interested in this bill, having been the first person in England who took up the great cause of slavery and the slave-trade, and having followed it in its progress diligently and laboriously, giving the greatest part of my time to it for now fifty-nine years. I hope also that the information which I shall give you on this subject will be acceptable to your Excellency.

As soon as I was acquainted with the nature of the treaty which the bill now mentioned is designed to execute, I foresaw that the masters of slaves in the southern parts of the United States would avail themselves of it to reclaim their fugitives in Canada, with more activity than ever. I wrote, therefore, to Lord Ashburton immediately (as the framer of the treaty), to apprise him of my fears. He did me the honour to reply to me in two very long and feeling letters, in which he said that he did not think that the American masters would act as I had anticipated; and that if, when he made the treaty, he had conceived that the words of it would be so interpreted as I had interpreted them, he should ever regret that he had been employed in making it: but he desired me to be comforted by the consideration, that, if such practices as I had anticipated should be resorted to with success, they might be stopped; for one of the articles of the treaty expressly stated, that, if either of the parties concerned were dissatisfied with it, or with any part of it, it might upon notice given be immediately dissolved.

After this I began to have other fears; that is, not only that the slaveholders of the south would, under the new treaty, pursue their fugitives in greater numbers and with more activity than ever, but that they would probably pervert one of its articles, at least, to a measure which it was never intended to confer. Thus, for instance, one of the crimes specified in the treaty for which a slave may be given up, is robbery. Now might not these slaveholders extend the meaning of this word to petty thefts? If so, a fugitive could scarcely escape, for your Excellency knows that petty thefts are the common vice of slaves, mostly beginning from hunger. I therefore signed a letter to Lord Aberdeen, asking him to grant an interview with a deputation of our committee on the subject of the treaty. This interview was readily granted, and the deputation waited upon his lordship accordingly; but I did not accompany them, being very ill at the time, and at a considerable distance from London. The deputation, however, was much gratified with their reception; and his lordship endeavoured to lessen their fears, by stating first, that mere running away from a master was no crime; that, if the fugitive stole a boat to escape by water, or a horse to escape by land, having no other means of escaping, this would not be robbery; neither would running away with their master's clothes on their backs be considered as any theft of the clothes. They could only be delivered up for one of those crimes which were named in the treaty, that petty thefts could not be included in the word robbery, and that the crime must be proved entirely to the satisfaction of the magistrate.

When the treaty came from the House of Lords into the House of Commons, there was great opposition to the bill. Lord Stanley and the Attorney-General were very earnest in expressing their opinion on two points. They insisted upon it, that, as the English law, by which alone the criminal was to be tried in Canada, made a wide distinction between robbery and petty theft, the Canadian magistrate would not do his duty if he did not make the same distinction when he gave his judgment in the case; and they both maintained that he (the magistrate) would again not do his duty if he convicted a fugitive slave, where there was any doubt in his mind about his criminality. For one of the articles of the treaty was very strong in its language, "that the magistrate must be perfectly satisfied of the guilt of the criminal." Lord Stanley again observed, "to make the matter more palpable to the House," as Lord Ashburton had observed to me (what was true), "that another of the articles in the treaty was to the effect, 'that, if the evils anticipated were realized, the treaty, upon notice given, would be at an end.'"

But another fear came into my mind, of which I cannot even now at this moment divest myself, that false or forged charges would be brought against the fugitives, to regain possession of their persons. Where self-interest is concerned, a man will frequently

overstep the bounds of truth to gain his point; but, where men have little or no moral principle, or no fear of God before their eyes (for the slave-holders of the south have given up the holy scripture as a rule of faith and conduct), what are we in the case of the poor friendless fugitive to expect from them? It is my firm belief, as well as that of all my friends, not only that the charges brought against them will be exaggerated, but that some will be even invented to get them into their power. Ask a Canadian borderer, as I have done, what he thinks. "Not believe one word they say." Now, sir, how are you to provide against false accusations, where the fugitive has no opportunity of rebutting them by any evidence he can bring forward? I am of opinion, either that counsel should be allowed to the criminal at the Government expense, to cross-examine the prosecutor severely, or that a special court should be established to try such cases (called a court of protection), and that a jury should be empanelled. I believe such a court will be found absolutely necessary.

And now your Excellency will permit me, as the case is actually a case of life and death to the unhappy fugitives, to make one or two observations of my own. The law of England, as interpreted by Lord Mansfield in the case of Somerset, after a five days' hearing, says, "that, if a slave once sets his foot on British territory, he is from that moment free;" you cannot, therefore, give up a slave merely because he has run away from oppression. And our Government stick to this same principle, at this moment. But the person running away is in this case a criminal. God forbid that I should have a wish that any man guilty of an atrocious crime should escape justice; but, when we consider that an innocent man may be convicted under fabricated charges, and how monstrously disproportionate the punishment by the planter may be to the offence (for I have become acquainted with such instances of punishments merely for running away as it would harrow up your soul to relate, independently of being restored to a cruel slavery), we cannot but think that the slaves now under our consideration are entitled to our commiseration, and that every chance should be given them in the course of the trial. The fugitives, too, who are at present under our Government in the Canadas, are people of a moral and sober character, so as to have gained the esteem of their neighbours. They consume our manufactures, and how great in time would this consumption be, if they were let alone to increase and multiply; and moreover they are a loyal people, and to be depended upon in a crisis, of which you had ample experience in the late insurrection.

I shall now close my letter, by informing you that the people of England take an intense interest in their welfare, and that they are now watching with anxiety the issue of the treaty when it comes into operation, and will assuredly go to Parliament, if any of the outrages by the Americans should occur, which they anticipate. I am sure the people of England will hold in grateful remembrance any act of humanity shown on the part of your Excellency towards these unfortunate people, not that popular applause would be any motive with you to the exercise of humanity and justice towards them; but we have a pledge in your own heart, as made manifest to us during your government in Jamaica, that these estimable qualities will not be wanting in you on the present occasion.

With an anxious desire that you may enjoy your health (the greatest earthly blessing) in your new government, and all the happiness you can wish for yourself, and with great esteem for your personal character,

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON.

Playford Hall, near Ipswich, Suffolk, Sept. 6, 1843.

THE BARCELONA SLAVERS.

(From the Morning Advertiser.)

We beg to direct the attention of Government to a report which is contained in a letter to Joseph Sturge, Esq., dated Cork, 9th month, 11, and published in the current number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. The letter to Mr. Sturge states that a Cornish captain had just come from Barcelona, in which port he states there were, at the time of his departure, eight or ten vessels fitted out as slavers; that one of them came in from Brazil—her second trip this year—with a cargo of sugar, having taken over slaves from the coast of Africa. This vessel is said to be a fast sailer, and fitted with sweeps, or long oars, on each side, with which she might be worked about five miles an hour, so that it was impossible she could be caught; that then, if she were in danger of being caught with negroes on board, they were all taken on deck and fastened in their irons to a large chain cable, which they let slip through a large port-hole made for the purpose, with its string of living victims. This sacrifice these inhuman monsters are said to be willing occasionally to make, not only because it saves them from conviction, but also from its tendency to keep up the value of slaves in Brazil.

This information, we are told, was received from some of the parties engaged in the trade, who used to urge the negroes to work hard at the oars in case of danger, having on board a black mate and cook who understood the language of the slaves, and represented to them, that, if taken, they would all be killed.

We confess that we are not at all inclined to doubt the correctness of these statements, knowing, as we do, how little value is to be assigned to the treaties into which various powers have entered with Britain to put down the slave-trade; and knowing also with how little compunction Spain would violate openly, or by connivance, a solemn engagement to put down this inhuman traffic.

We are quite of one mind with Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton on the subject of the Spanish treaty, when he says, "I can arrive at no other conclusion than that the Spanish treaty, as interpreted by the Spanish judges, is an impudent fraud."

And the probability of the truth of this report is increased by the tumult and anarchy of which Spain is, as she seems destined to be, the seat. It is not very surprising that a country which is convulsed from the centre to the circumference, where revolts and revolutions are of frequent occurrence, and where internal strifes threaten the destruction of the community, should be guilty of violating its compact with another country. We have for these reasons very little disposition to doubt, that all the horrors of the slave traffic are being constantly perpetrated between the coast of Africa and the Brazils by Spanish slavers, which bring the produce of their abominable trade into the port of Barcelona, on their way laughing at the united squadron of America and England, and passing with impunity by the rock of Gibraltar. By the way, if report speak true, there are reasons why Gibraltar should quietly permit this gross outrage to be perpetrated. It appears that the power of our country to interfere and enforce the obligation of the treaty against slave-dealing, is destroyed by the fact that Gibraltar is a store-house for English goods, to smuggle into the Spanish ports; that English vessels carry on this smuggling trade to the Spanish ports, these vessels being so well armed with heavy guns that two of them would beat off a Spanish man-of-war. This trade, we understand, is no secret, being openly carried on in the face of the authorities of Gibraltar. We beg to direct the attention of Government to these statements. We take it for granted that the usual degree of Ministerial ignorance prevails on this subject; that all these abuses go on, while those who ought to be first to detect them will be the very last to do so; but we at the same time maintain that such allegations, being publicly made, ought not to be allowed to pass away without the most prompt and strict investigation. We have been for some time convinced that anti-slavery treaties, if left to be carried out by the reluctant parties from whom we have obtained them, are of no more value than the parchment on which they are written, and the gross violation of the Spanish treaty of which we now state the rumour, is one of a host of instances by which our opinion is confirmed. It is, however, due to the British crown, and to the British people, to institute the most rigid inquiry into the truth of a statement which, if verified, proves that all that has been said respecting the suppression of the slave-trade is a delusion.

We understand that an Anti-Slavery Society exists in Barcelona. We hope that institution is not asleep; but we must confess, we should be glad to observe some better proofs of its vigilance than is afforded by the fact of these eight slavers entering and leaving the port without remark or opposition. Whatever credit may be due to the sincerity and good faith of the institution, we certainly cannot say much for its vigilance. We venture to say that a single slaver "fitted with sweeps" could not enter and leave the most obscure port on the English coast, without at once finding that the English people are not playing false where the destinies of the enslaved are at stake.

Indeed, we are convinced that the honour of being sincere in the cause of human freedom is due only to Britain as a country. America, with the exception of the honoured band of emancipators, continues to present to the whole civilized world the anomaly of professing to believe in the equality of mankind, and at the same time dividing its population into free men and slaves; while the various European powers are but approaching to the proud position which philanthropy has induced us to assume. Occupying, then, as we do, the high position of the emancipator and friend of the slave, it must be ours with persevering vigilance to search for every case in which laws which exist against slavery are violated, and bring those cases into the light of day. We must also use the vast moral influence which we possess in order to produce a correct state of public sentiment, respecting one of the greatest evils with which humanity is cursed. The friends of the oppressed African ought not to let the Barcelona case get out of sight. Let them see whether this flagrant violation of treaty is being committed—and if it be, then let them, as it is in their power, urge the Government to enforce all the conditions of the treaty between our country and Spain.

CONTINENTAL TOUR OF MESSRS. ALEXANDER AND WIFFEN.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Herrnhut, 9 mo. 12, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—We reached this place—the well-known establishment of the Moravian brethren—this morning from Dresden. Soon after our arrival we communicated our wish to see some of the brethren, in connexion with the object of our journey, and especially such of them as had been in the West Indies or Surinam. An appointment was kindly made in compliance with our request, and we met this afternoon five persons connected with the Society. We entered into conversation on the subject of slavery in the Danish colonies, but did not obtain much information of which we were not previously possessed. Some admissions were made relative to the physical circumstances of the slave, which we thought unfavourable; but the general statement was of an opposite character. None of the brethren, however, appeared to be aware of the fact of a decrease which still takes place in the slave population of these colonies. The injurious influence of slavery on the intellectual, moral, and religious condition of the slaves was at once admitted by all persons. We afterwards discoursed on the circumstance of the Moravian Missionary Society holding slaves in the Danish West India islands. This was stated by them to be an act, not of choice, but of necessity; as an abrupt

restoration of their slaves to freedom would peril the existence of the work in which they had been so long engaged, and might occasion the ruin of the garden of the Lord. We replied, that, in performing an act which the spirit and precepts of the New Testament required, we thought they ought not to regard possible consequences, and that an adherence to sound principles and a consistent conduct was always safe, and the duty imperative. We were glad to learn that they have proceeded so far as to inform the Governor of the Danish West India islands, General Scholtens, that it was their wish to set at liberty the whole of their slaves at once. To this no decisive answer has yet been received. Before leaving, the brethren were reminded of the duty which devolves upon all Christians and Christian communities, not only to avoid evil; but to avoid all appearance of evil; to seek to be perfect, even as our Father who is in heaven is perfect; that they were to be as cities set on a hill, which cannot be hid, whose light should so shine that others, seeing their good works, should glorify their Father who is in heaven. We also sought to impress upon them the strong conviction of our own minds, that they at present afford some support to a cruel and guilty system; and that they may continue to do this, or may promote its downfall, by their future conduct. We adverted, likewise, to the large number of wretched beings who will be affected by their decision, especially if it be in favour of doing an act of justice, whatever difficulties may attend it. It would have been highly gratifying to us to have been informed that this was their decision; but this we have yet to learn. They expressed a strong disapprobation of slavery, and satiated the great satisfaction and relief which it would be to them were it abandoned, especially as many of their own brethren in Christ suffered under its yoke. I hope that we are not wholly insensible of our unworthiness thus to plead with those who are comparatively of grey hairs, and who, we trust, have been privileged to labour in the high vocation of Christian ministers; but we deemed it a duty to use much plainness of speech in stating our conviction of the utter inconsistency of slaveholding with the Christian character, whether of individuals or communities.

On the way to Rotterdam, 9 mo. 20.—We left Herrnhut the day after the above was written, and spent a large part of the remainder of the week in travelling. On the 16th we reached Frankfort, where we took some pains to obtain information respecting the proposed emigration from Germany to Texas. We also took steps which we hope will have some effect in discouraging it, under the existing circumstances of that unhappy and guilty land. In the prosecution of these objects we called upon several intelligent and influential persons, including the editors of the two newspapers published at Frankfort, which have the largest circulation. It was stated to us that the Duke of Nassau, and the Prince Maximilian de Weed, his brother-in-law, were among its promoters; and that a minister of one of the German states, V. Gagern, resident at Nassau, had advocated the measure in an assembly representing those states. We were further informed that the persons principally concerned in the intended emigration were German noblemen, but did not hear the names of any except those already mentioned. A deputation was, four years since, sent out to make inquiry on the spot relative to Texas, but it has not returned. We are not aware that any statement of the result of their investigations has hitherto been made public. The subject is, however, discussed in the German newspapers. In one which I have seen, the *Frankfurter Journal*, an article is copied from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, in which that highly respectable and influential paper appears to think that emigration to Texas will be advantageous to those who resort thither. It is, however, remarkable, that the writer makes no allusion to the unsettled state of the country to which it is proposed to introduce the sons and daughters of Germany, stating only that it possesses a fertile soil (in a part of its territory)! We suppose, however, that the unsettled state of the new republic, arising from the late hostilities with Mexico, which may shortly be renewed, have been the principal cause of the suspension hitherto of the project. We think that, for the sake of those who are the promoters of the design of emigration, and for the sake of those who may be induced to leave their native land, and in order to prevent the encouragement of the slave system by an influx of money and settlers, a paper should be at once prepared which will throw light upon the circumstances and prospects of Texas. It will be readily seen, by those who consider the subject of emigration properly, that there are certain conditions on which depend the present and future welfare of the emigrants in their new home. Among these are the virtue, industry, and intelligence of its inhabitants, just and equal laws, and the adaptation of the climate to the constitution of the settlers. We believe it will be found, that neither the character of the Texans, nor the laws of that country—some of which, relative to the slaves, coloured persons, and Indians, are iniquitous in the highest degree—offer any inducement to, or security in, the adoption of that country as a home. The existence of slavery is, however, alone—so long as it is found there—a sufficient reason for shunning it as a place of abode, because experience proves that slavery is the grave of all those virtues which contribute to the happiness and permanent prosperity of any country, however favoured by the bounty of Providence. We yesterday proceeded to Kuvied, but were prevented from doing so in company. I therefore proceeded to the chateau of Prince Maximilian de Weed, by whom I was favoured with an interview. I was informed by the prince that he had no interest in the contemplated emigration; he, however, appeared willing to converse on a subject in which one of his nearest connexions is concerned, and he will, I have reason to believe, gladly receive any information which we can furnish. The prince has been an extensive traveller in America, and has published an account of his travels. I was gratified in hearing the terms of strong disapprobation in which he spoke of the system of slavery. I annex a list of German newspapers, and of individuals in Germany to whom I think the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* should be forwarded.

On board the Giraffe from Rotterdam, 9 mo. 23.—We have now finished our journey on the continent, at least for the present, having been induced by various considerations to return home earlier than we had intended. We reached Rotterdam on the 21st, the following morning, and proceeded to the Hague, where we had the pleasure of seeing several of our anti-slavery friends. In the evening we had the satisfaction of meeting, at our hotel at Rotterdam, a large number of friends, including a member of the Liverpool Anti-Slavery Committee.

We give briefly the principal information obtained respecting the pro-

gress of the anti-slavery cause, the state of the slave population in the Dutch colonies, and the nature of our communication with those in the towns named who have manifested an interest in the abolition of slavery. It is known, if we are not mistaken, to the readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, that two anti-slavery associations were, about a year and a half since, formed in Holland—one at the Hague, the other at Rotterdam—having persons associated with them in various parts of Holland. Some females also joined together for the promotion of the same great object. Three addresses to the king were drawn up by the different associations or committees praying for the abolition of slavery, which were signed by about four hundred persons. The subject was referred to General Ryk, formerly Governor of Surinam, and now Minister of Marine. The answer returned was, that the Government was convinced of the importance of the subject to the well-being of the colony of Surinam; but that it must be gradually introduced, and preceded by religious instruction, and by the legalization of marriage. It was also stated that the subject was one which required so much care in the manner of its attainment, in order to prevent evils no less great than those which it was sought to remove, that the Government wished it should remain in their own hands. Many difficulties were stated to exist in the abolition of slavery, which were noticed at considerable length. We learn that a slaveholder was present at the meeting of the friends of abolition which took place at Rotterdam, and that some of the planters presented a request to the king that he would not grant his authorization to the constitution of the societies at Rotterdam and the Hague. We know not how far this circumstance may have contributed to the official discouragement of their proceedings. An appointment has been made by the Government to examine the subject of the abolition of slavery, and to recommend measures for its amelioration. The commission for this purpose is, we are informed, wholly composed of pro-slavery persons; and no account of their proceedings has transpired. From the character given us of the members of the commission, and the timid and unsatisfactory language of the minister, we cannot anticipate any considerable advantage from it; but fear that its appointment, and the language of the Government, may have induced some relaxation of exertion on the part of the friends of the slave in Holland during the last twelve months. We are, however, rejoiced to find that there is on the part of those we met generally, both at the Hague and Rotterdam, a deep conviction of the vast importance of the abolition of slavery. The necessity of immediate abolition is especially and strongly felt, on account of its intimate connexion with the success of Christian missions, by some who three years ago disapproved of this course.

A few tracts have been published by the ladies' society at Rotterdam. We find that the subject of abolition has been noticed in at least two works recently published, besides periodicals. Among the latter, a review of a Dutch translation of J. J. Gurney's "Winter in the West Indies" has given occasion for a discussion of the question. We have had an opportunity of glancing at one of the works named, "*De Negro Slavin in de Kolonie Suriname en de Vitbreiding van het Christendom onder de Heidsche bevolking*," by M. D. Teenstra, Dordrecht, H. Lagirweij, 1842, from which we anticipate obtaining interesting and important information. The sentiments of this work, and those contained in some of the periodicals, are, we believe, favourable to the abolition of slavery. The frontispiece to Teenstra's book is a portrait of three young slaves, who, in 1833, were sentenced to be burned to death for incendiarism, at Paramaribo, the principal town of Surinam. This barbarous punishment was actually executed, notwithstanding the extenuating circumstances of the youth of the parties—their ignorance, arising from their condition as slaves—and the cruelty to which they were exposed from the same circumstance. The fear of this cruelty appears to have been, in most of the cases, if not in all, the motive to the commission of the offence.

In reference to the general condition of the slaves, we were informed by the friends with whom we conversed, that the late Governor of Surinam, when in the colony, recommended some ameliorative measures, including a shortening of the hours of labour; but he was opposed by all the members of the council, and they have not been carried into effect. Such is the general disposition of slaveholders. In an article which appeared in the *Staats Courant*, the Government journal, the decrease in the slave population is acknowledged to be 2 per cent. per annum. Among the causes of this decrease are mentioned the lengthened period of labour, and the immorality prevalent among the slaves. I think it worthy of notice, that, at the meeting at our hotel already noticed, a very unfavourable account of the situation of persons in Java, nominally free, was given by a person who had been in that island. We think this subject well deserves inquiry, as well as the law and practice of slavery in the colony.

In our intercourse with our friends in Holland, we recommended them to persevere in the work in which they had engaged, notwithstanding the difficulties which oppose their progress; to adopt means to keep the subject of the abolition of slavery before their countrymen; and, among other means of promoting emancipation, to embrace an early opportunity of remonstrating with the Moravian brethren who hold slaves in Surinam. The latter step, we think, they are especially bound to take, because many of them contribute to the Moravian mission in that colony. We urged the necessity of persevering and energetic efforts on behalf of the slaves, both on account of the sufferings which they endured, the waste of life amongst them, and the baneful influence of slavery on their intellectual, moral, and religious character. The inability of these victims of oppression to plead their own cause, and the fact that the owners of slaves constitute a great pro-slavery society, were also, I think, noticed as powerful motives for exertion. In concluding the account of this last portion of our work, we would express our earnest hope, that, among the numerous and enlightened friends of the slave in Holland, some will very shortly feel it to be their duty to enlist themselves still more actively than they have hitherto done in the advocacy of emancipation. We hope that this will be done not only by the press, but that the subject will be introduced in the present meeting of the states, and that applications will be made to those in authority, both in private and in public, whenever such a course appears likely to be attended with any advantage. The blessing of those who are ready to perish will rest upon those who are thus engaged, and the approbation of good men; whilst

we cannot doubt that the same Divine blessing which prospered the labours of the abolitionists of the northern portion of the United States fifty years since, and of those of England much more recently, will attend the exertions of our Dutch friends. We have to acknowledge the obliging conduct of Lord Aberdeen, in furnishing letters of introduction for our use to the representatives of the English government in all the countries we were likely to visit. These were forwarded very shortly after our departure, but, owing to accidental circumstances, did not reach us. We do not on this account feel the less grateful for the assistance intended by the secretary for foreign affairs, whilst we justly appreciate that help which, without this advantage, we received from our countrymen abroad in official stations, as well as from others in private life. We have also to express our obligation for the readiness with which many natives of the countries we visited listened to our representations, and assisted us in the prosecution of our work, including some holding high offices in the state, and not a few who are highly distinguished by their talents and acquirements. With kind regards to thyself and the members of the Committee,

I remain, thy sincere friend,

G. W. ALEXANDER.

P.S. I have omitted to mention, that, when at Frankfort, it was suggested to us by Dr. Carron that the subject of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade might suitably be brought under the notice of an association about to meet in that town for the relief of distressed Protestants in Germany. We accordingly left some books, which are to be presented to this interesting body, and have subsequently addressed a letter to them. It is doubtful whether it will arrive in time to be read amongst them; but, if this object be not attained, it is proposed to have it translated and circulated amongst those for whom it was intended, and other Christian professors in Germany. Since our return I have had the gratification of learning, that the "Observations on the Duty and Policy of the immediate and entire Abolition of Slavery in the Danish Colonies" has been translated into Danish, and inserted in a highly respectable weekly paper, not confined to political subjects, published at Copenhagen, of which Professor Schow is editor. To this gentleman I am much obliged for giving it a place in his pages, as well as to Professor David, who kindly undertook to have the "Observations" translated and published.

INTENDED FOR PUBLICATION.

HAYDON'S celebrated PICTURE of the GREAT MEETING of DELEGATES, held in London in June, 1840, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World, THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

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ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, 1843.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

It was intended that the communication which we have received on Surinam should have appeared in this number, but it is now judged best to omit its insertion.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all Newsvenders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg very earnestly and respectfully to call the attention of their friends to the subject of Funds, and to urge upon them the necessity of liberal contributions in aid of the great objects the Society has in view. Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 4, 1843.

OUR friends have probably heard that Mr. Scoble has been ill. So much is true. It is not true, however, that at any time his life has been held in danger; and we are most happy to be able to say that he is now convalescent.

In our last number appeared two articles from the *Liverpool Mercury*, the one headed, "The Debate on the Sugar Duties," and the other, "The Condition of the West India Planters and Labourers," so printed as apparently to exhibit our own sentiments. They were in fact, however, parts of Mr. Haughton's communication, and were to be regarded simply as containing the noxious matter on which he was animadverting. Our readers must forgive us this inadvertency. They well know our sentiments to have been totally different from those of the articles in question, and will be satisfied, we hope, with our assurance that they are what they were.

AMONG the articles in the present *Reporter*, is an admirable letter from the venerable Thomas Clarkson, on the bearings of the now celebrated tenth article of the Ashburton treaty. It is addressed to Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Governor-General of Canada, with whom the practical working of the clause will mainly lie, and we cannot doubt but it will receive at the hands of that distinguished functionary a courteous and grave attention. We are happy in being at length permitted to present it to the public, and we are sure it will be received with intense interest among our American friends.

WE are enabled to gratify our readers to-day with the continuance and conclusion of the narrative supplied by Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen, of their continental tour. A most important part of their proceedings was their visit to the Moravian settlement at Herrnhut, and the faithful testimony they bore to the assembled elders of the United Brethren. We cannot but believe that some serious influence must be exercised by this interview; and most earnestly do we hope that before long the Brethren will set less store by the interdicts of colonial governors (which, after all, constitute no justification), than by the dictates of righteousness and mercy. To the narrative of Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen, we are enabled to add a memorial addressed by them to his Majesty, the King of Sweden, which we trust will have the effect of advancing such measures as appear, by another article in our columns, to be in progress. The journey of our philanthropic countrymen will furnish yet further matters of interest for our pages.

WE observe in the *Morning Herald* of Monday last a long account of the indignities which are alleged to have been practised on Senor Zulueta, in the course of the proceedings now pending on a charge for slave-trading, together with a direct accusation of want of courtesy towards "one of the first merchants in London" against the Anti-Slavery Committee, as the supposed prosecutors. Into the highly important matter of this trial we are not about prematurely to enter, but we take the earliest opportunity of saying that the *Herald* is on the wrong scent as to the party originating the prosecution. It is in our power to affirm distinctly that the proceedings have not been instituted by the Anti-Slavery Committee, and that—although regarding them, of course, with a lively interest—they have not been, and are not, in any such relation to them as to have had it in their power to regulate the way in which they have been, or shall be conducted.

Literary Notice.

Jamaica: its past and present State. By JAMES M. PHILLIPPO, of Spanish Town, Jamaica; twenty years a Baptist Missionary in that Island. London: John Snow.

WE have great pleasure in calling the attention of our friends to this work, which is written with much spirit and ability. Of its general merits, however, it is not for us to speak; we have to say, rather, that it deserves a wide circulation among the friends of the abolition cause, since it is emphatically a history of the progress of the anti-slavery movement, in its triumphs over the slave-trade—

the apprenticeship—and, finally, every vestige of slavery in the important island to which it relates.

The progress which the emancipated classes have made in the arts of civilized life is well portrayed in the following extract:—

"Any imputation of ignorance of the mechanic arts and manufactures now cast upon the black population of Jamaica, would only excite the ridicule or contempt of those who are personally acquainted with them. There are now to be found amongst the black population throughout the country, comprehending individuals of each tribe, operatives, mechanics, and masons, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, sailors, pilots; and it may be added, from their knowledge of the properties of medicinal herbs, and their skill in applying them to different disorders, veterinary surgeons and medical men; whilst in the towns are also shoemakers, cabinet-makers, carvers and gilders, watchmakers, jewellers, &c., &c., who manifest as much skill, and perform their work with as much accuracy and taste, as workmen of the same description in England. Most of the houses and public buildings—churches, chapels, court-houses—were built chiefly by slaves; and to the slaves, equally with the free blacks and people of colour, have the white inhabitants been indebted, not only for their common works of art, but for nearly every article of local manufacture.

"So far from being now ignorant of civil polity, and of the use of civil institutions, it is questionable whether any people in the world, placed in the same circumstances, possess an equally correct acquaintance with these subjects; whilst the superior style of cottage architecture everywhere apparent since freedom, (where such cottages became their own,) their furniture, and the gardens that surround them, are sufficient refutation of the charge of deficiency of taste for the useful and ornamental. Not less unfounded is the imputation that they are deficient in inventive and imitative genius. Even among the untutored of the African race, these qualities have been sometimes displayed in a degree truly astonishing. They have been manifested, not only in the construction and manufacture of articles of domestic use, but also (and that without any previous instruction) in the higher branches of mechanics. Their locks and bolts, together with other contrivances for security and convenience, are a sufficient evidence of the truth of this assertion: to which may be added, their contrivances for cooking and manufacturing sugar of their own production, as well as various other things of domestic utility."—(pp. 199, 200.)

We might multiply such extracts, which tend to show that the emancipated classes in Jamaica are not only advancing, but advancing rapidly, as an industrious and happy peasantry. We cannot refrain from giving one short quotation in reference to dress, which presents a striking contrast with former days among them, and, unhappily, with the present days of all slaveholding countries:—

"As an evidence of the improvement which has taken place, the decencies of society are no longer outraged by insufficient and filthy apparel. Seldom, indeed, is an individual seen, especially on the sabbath, except in the most becoming attire,—in every respect as good as that worn by persons of the same class during the summer in England. The dress of the women generally consists of a printed or white cotton gown, with a white handkerchief tied in a turban-like manner round their heads, and a neat straw hat trimmed with white ribbon; while some, especially the young women, wear straw bonnets and white muslin dresses. This improvement has extended itself, not simply to the mere article of dress, but also to its condition. It is uniformly distinguished for its cleanliness, whilst the economy with which it is preserved, in a climate where, from insects and other causes, it is so liable to destruction, is truly remarkable."—(pp. 230, 231.)

Of their bearing towards each other we have the following description:—

"Towards each other they manifest a politeness and respect sometimes approaching to extravagance. The lowest of the peasantry seldom meet without exchanging salutations, accompanied in general by mutual inquiries after the health of each other's families. This practice is so general, that among friends its accidental violation has often led to unpleasant consequences, when not followed by an apology. Gratitude for favours received, respect for old age, love of offspring, generous compassion for the distressed, ardent and disinterested friendship, have, by the most prejudiced writers, been universally acknowledged to be redeeming qualities of the African character; qualities, the development of which is daily becoming increasingly manifest."—(p. 234.)

The following reply to the charge of indolence, sometimes brought by certain parties against the negroes, we have pleasure in extracting:—

"The term indolent can only be applied to the black population in the absence of remunerating employment. But even then they labour in their own provision grounds. Jamaica peasants loitering along the roads—associated in groups in their villages for the purpose of idle gossip—lounging about their residences—or spending their time and money at taverns or places of similar resort, are seldom to be found.

"On returning from their daily labour, the men almost uniformly employ themselves in cultivating their own grounds, or in improving their own little freeholds, and the women in culinary and other domestic purposes, until driven to their frugal repast and to repose by darkness and fatigue. As to the great bulk of the people, making allowance for the influence of climate, no peasantry in the world can display more cheerful and persevering industry. These facts have not only been confirmed by missionaries and disinterested men throughout the island, as well as by Messrs. Gurney, Candler, and other philanthropic and highly respectable travellers, but by the public journals of the colonists themselves,—journals which are considered the organs of the most respectable portions both of the commercial and agricultural communities."—(pp. 234, 335.)

The foregoing will be sufficient to introduce the work to our readers, which we cordially recommend them to purchase without delay. We may hereafter recur to its diversified contents.

THE SLAVE-TRADING CASE.

CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT.—WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21.

(Before Mr. Justice Erskine and Mr. Justice Creswell.)

The Queen v. Pedro de Zulueta and others.

In this case Mr. Bodkin, who appeared on behalf of the defendant, applied to have the trial postponed. He was not yet prepared with the necessary affidavits, but would have them ready by to-morrow morning.

Mr. Payne, for the prosecution, had no objection to the delay until to-morrow morning. He would then have an opportunity of seeing the affidavits, and filing counter ones, if necessary.

Application granted.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

This morning having been appointed for hearing the motion for the postponement of this case, at the sitting of the court Senor de Zulueta with several friends entered.

Mr. Clarkson (with whom was Mr. Bodkin) for the defendant, was about to make an application, but

Mr. Payne, who was with Mr. Sergeant Bompas, requested that nothing should be done until his leader's arrival.

Mr. Clarkson assented.

Mr. Justice Erskine inquired the nature of the application.

Mr. Clarkson said it was for the postponement of the trial.

Mr. Justice Erskine: Upon what ground?

Mr. Clarkson said, the absence of a material witness, without whom it would not be safe for his client to go to trial. Affidavits had been filed, and copies furnished to the other side, so that sufficient notice and time had been given them to answer.

Mr. Sergeant Bompas here entered the court.

Mr. Clarkson repeated what he had said, and went on to complain that the prosecutors had gone before the grand jury, and preferred this charge behind the back of the defendant, who had no intimation of the proceedings until the bills had been found, and he was then arrested in his own counting-house.

Mr. Justice Erskine said the affidavit of the defendant had better be read.

Mr. Clarke, the clerk of the court, then read the affidavit, which was a joint one made by the defendant and his attorney. It set forth that the defendant was entirely ignorant of the intention of any party to prefer such a charge against him; and from the length of time which had elapsed since the occurrences on which the charge was founded, he had been placed in considerable difficulty. His principal clerk, Mr. Toplis, had gone to Gibraltar; and his evidence, and the information he could give regarding other witnesses, were absolutely necessary for the defence. Immediately on being made aware of the charge, the defendant had written for Mr. Toplis, who had arrived in London only on Sunday last, and in the short period which had since elapsed there was not time to procure the other necessary evidence. The affidavit went on to state that witnesses would probably be required from Spain, and also from Sierra Leone, in Africa. It also asserted that notice had been given to Sir George Stephen, the attorney for the prosecution, of the intended application, and his reply was, that personally he had no objection to the postponement, but he should leave the matter to the discretion of the court.

The affidavit, in reply, was then read. It set forth that Captain Hill, a commander in her Majesty's navy, who was a material witness for the prosecution, was about to proceed on a voyage to the Gold coast, to assume the command of an island; and it was absolutely necessary that he should proceed to his destination forthwith, as the public service might suffer seriously by his delay, and that it would not be safe for the prosecution to go on without him. Some of the other witnesses for the prosecution were foreigners, who were about to go abroad, and others were sailors, who were about to leave England; and if the trial were postponed, their attendance might be impossible to be obtained. It also stated that the transaction out of which the present charge had arisen had been the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry a long time since, and the defendant had, therefore, ample means of knowing the nature of the charge against him.

Mr. Sergeant Bompas then addressed the court, and said it was hardly necessary for him to state that the prosecutors had no personal feelings to gratify in opposing the application for the postponement of the trial; but they were induced to do so, because they feared that, on a future occasion, the subject could not be fairly inquired into. He thought the affidavit put in by the defendant was an extraordinary one, and did not contain such facts as would warrant the court to yield to the application. Much stress had been laid upon the fact that no application had been made, and no investigation instituted, before a magistrate; and that the defendant was, therefore, ignorant of the nature of the charge; but it should be recollected that the whole matter had formed, as had been admitted, the subject of an inquiry before a committee of the House of Commons; and that must have given the defendant an opportunity of knowing all the circumstances under which the charge had been preferred. He (Mr. Sergeant Bompas) considered the defendant in this case had quite as much notice as any one could expect to receive in a charge of felony. The defendant's affidavit had set forth that a witness named Toplis, a material witness, was wanting; but he had arrived in England, and there could be no difficulty in bringing him forward. It was also urged that other witnesses would be wanted from Spain and Africa, but it was not said that they were material witnesses to facts; nor was there any assurance that they would, in point of fact, be brought forward at all. At the same time, he should say that it was the object of the court, and, in fact, of all the parties concerned, to have the circumstances fully and properly inquired into; and there were many and great difficulties in the way of both prosecutors and defendant with regard to procuring evidence.

Mr. Justice Erskine said that the inquiry before the committee of the House of Commons could hardly be taken as notice to the defendant that this charge would be brought against him. That inquiry had taken place a long time ago.

Mr. Sergeant Bompas said the "Augusta," the vessel in question, had

been captured on the 7th of February, 1841, having left England in the November previously. She was condemned as a slaver by the Privy Council.

In answer to Mr. Justice Creswell, Mr. Sergeant Bompas said the vessel had sailed from Liverpool, and the question was, whether she was upon the voyage equipped for the purpose of carrying on a mercantile trade, or a traffic in slaves.

Mr. Clarkson:—And Toplis, the clerk referred to in the affidavit, was the managing clerk for the defendant, in Liverpool, and transacted all the business connected with the voyage in question.

Mr. Sergeant Bompas thought it very extraordinary that the defendant could not, from his books, know all about the business as well as his clerk, and he thought the defendant had not stated enough upon this head to warrant the court in granting the postponement. Another point was also left too vague, and that was the time at which it was likely the trial would take place. At the present rate it might be postponed from session to session, until the witnesses for the prosecution were scattered all over the face of the globe, and the ends of justice thus frustrated. He contended that it was idle to say the defendant had not had sufficient notice. The witnesses for the prosecution were all now ready, and he contended that sufficient cause had not been shown for the postponement.

Mr. Payne followed on the same side.

Mr. Justice Erskine, after some communication with Mr. Justice Creswell, said that there certainly was some difficulty in the case, the defendant mentioning no time at which he would be ready to take his trial. He did not think that the defendant could ask for any postponement longer than the next session.

Mr. Clarkson said he had little to say in answer to the elaborate statement of the learned sergeant. The defendant did not seek any postponement longer than until the next session; but he (Mr. Clarkson) should say that the inquiry before the Committee of the House of Commons had taken place more than twelve months ago, and the transaction itself, on which was founded this most serious charge against one of the first merchants of the city of London, nearly three years ago. Since the parliamentary inquiry, no further notice had been given to M. Zulueta that any charge would be preferred against him; and now he was taken by surprise by the prosecutors, whoever they were (for no names were mentioned, and the defendant was yet ignorant of who were his accusers,) and it was contended that three weeks was too long a time to give him an opportunity of preparing his defence.

Mr. Justice Erskine said it was the duty of the court to attend to the interests of justice. In this case, it was admitted the transaction had occurred nearly three years ago. If the prosecutors had intended to go into the matter, they might have taken the defendants before a magistrate, and have had it publicly investigated; but, instead of that, it appeared that no steps were taken until the present year, and then on the eve of the departure of the witness Toplis from England. There was no reason to suppose that the Crown would place a witness for the defence in such a position as that he could not attend, and under all the circumstances he (Mr. Justice Erskine) did not think it would be fair to compel the defendant to take his trial in the absence of the persons referred to in the affidavits of himself and his attorney.

Mr. Sergeant Bompas made some inaudible remark.

Mr. Justice Erskine said he had no intention whatever to attribute improper motives to the prosecutors or to any other person. In point of fact, the only prosecutor was the Crown; and he was quite sure that all the witnesses under the control of the Crown would be forthcoming when required. The court, in granting the application, did so in consequence of what had been urged with regard to Toplis, and not that with regard to procuring witnesses from Spain and Africa. The learned judge then directed that the trial should be postponed to the next session.

The recognizances of M. de Zulueta were then enlarged.

MR. JUSTICE ERSKINE.

Our readers will have observed in our last paper, the proceedings in the Central Criminal Court in the Slave-trading case, "the Queen against Zulueta and others." Application was made for the postponement of the trial. We will say nothing of the grounds upon which this was asked for, as the Court deemed them sufficient, and directed that the trial should be postponed till the next session. We cannot, however, forbear to remark upon the very extraordinary observations which fell from Mr. Justice Erskine, in reference to the delay which had taken place in instituting the prosecution. It was admitted, he said, that the transaction had occurred nearly three years ago. If the prosecutors had intended to go into this matter, they might have taken the defendants before a magistrate, and have had it publicly investigated; but, instead of that, no steps were taken until the present year. Now we must think that, before a Judge ventures to throw out insinuations of this kind, and to attribute sinister motives or vexatious conduct to prosecutors in a case of felony, it would become him to make himself acquainted with the facts of the case. The transaction out of which the present charge arises is notorious enough, having been made the subject of Parliamentary inquiry; and most assuredly the prosecution ought to have been instituted before now. But with whom rests the responsibility of the delay? Why was not her Majesty's Attorney-General directed, long ago, to commence proceedings? Why, with the evidence of Colonel Nicolls, Captain Denman, and Captain Woreley in their possession, did Ministers hesitate to submit the facts to a British jury? An answer might possibly be given to these questions at the Colonial Office; but whether a satisfactory one is another matter. All that we can venture to affirm is, that there has been a very suspicious reluctance manifested in certain quarters, to take any effectual measures to bring to light the hidden things of darkness. Sir George Stephen has done himself infinite honour by having overcome the difficulties, real or imaginary, that lay in the way of instituting the indictment. Upon the issue will greatly depend the fate of our pending Slave-trade Treaties with other countries. How long will foreign nations consent to our seizing their vessels for acts which we allow British subjects to commit with impunity? How can France or America be expected to execute or observe treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, while the British Minister in Downing-street is found throwing the shield of official protection over notorious delinquency?—*Patriot, September 28.*

HOW SOUTHERN MEN FEEL.

(From the *New York Evangelist*.)

Messrs. Editors,—I have just read the following question, proposed in the late Association of Massachusetts, by the Rev. W. Trask:—"What will the friends of the West think of us, if we, looking upon slavery as sin, shall go away, and say nothing upon the subject?" If you please, I will tell them how we at the South feel; at least how I, as the son of a slaveholder, a native and resident of the South, feel. I feel that those who refuse to speak and act on the subject are neglectful of their duty as Christians, patriots, and philanthropists. I speak this with deference and love; nor would I say it, did not I feel that the bible and facts support me in the position.

1. I feel that they are neglectful of their duty as Christians. When we read James ii. 16; 1 John iii. 16, 17; Acts x. 38; Heb. xiii. 3; Matt. xxii. 39; we find that Christianity is not a negative system, but that it is positive, active, aggressive. It is not enough that we abstain from sin ourselves, but we must rebuke others. Lev. xix. 17. It is not enough that we enjoy good, but we must do good. Heb. xiii. 16. As Christians, we cannot see our brother destitute, and say to him "depart, be ye warmed and filled," and yet minister not to his wants. "Freely ye have received, freely give."

"But," says my brother at the North, "as a Christian, it would be my duty to speak and act, if I could thereby do any good; but obligation ceases with ability to do good." You have ability to do good. The brethren at the North have done good, and can do good. Facts:—I am what I am, because men at the North have held up truth to awaken conscience, and collected facts to convince the judgment. Whatever purpose I have to plead in the South the cause of the poor slave, to free my country of a great social and political evil, to remove from the gospel the great clog of slavery, I owe to efforts of friends at the North. Another young man has already gone forth from my own county to preach the gospel as condemning slavery. Through his instrumentality whole families of whites have been converted to anti-slavery principles, and one or two large families of coloured people liberated. Through other instrumentality others have been converted, and many aroused to inquiry. All this in one county of the South; yet all this, primarily, through the influence of men at the North. Did space permit many more such facts might be presented, showing that the North has something to do with slavery. But the great work to be done now is to wake up attention—get truth before the mind, and collect facts, as materials for the great reformation. Some are already converted on the ground, others are awakened and inquiring. Truth is spreading. A conscience is being awakened; the fuel of a great conflagration is preparing; and soon it will only be necessary for some Luther to seize the torch of truth, pass through the land, and a bright flame of philanthropy will flash athwart the nation. Tell the brethren at the North to speak on—hold conventions—collect facts. They will thus prepare materials for future and more efficient action. They will also encourage and edify those who are preparing for the great reformation. The other day I was listening very eagerly for something on the subject of slavery, when suddenly I recognized, in behalf of the slaves, the well-known voice of my old teacher in theology, breaking over the tops of the mountains, and winding its way across our wide-spread valley. It reanimated my soul. I was filled with new zeal and courage. I rejoiced that the cause of the slave, the cause of patriotism and humanity, had so able an advocate; that that vigorous intellect, that impassioned soul, that eloquent tongue, which has so long been employed in the cause of salvation, education, and temperance, will, before it is palsied by death, be employed in the cause of liberty.

Tell Northern Christians to speak on. Their words are not lost. They are heard in the South, and heard gladly. The friends of the slave drink in their words, as the thirsty traveller the brook at the mountain's base. Tell those across the ocean to speak on. Think not that their voice is lost on the wide Atlantic. It reaches our shores with all its original vigor. The leaven of English philanthropy is dreaded more by the slaveholder than the artillery of all Europe.

Tell the Christians of the whole world to speak on. Christ's body is one. It is a complete system; and, when we all act in concert, we feel each other's propelling influence. If any cease, we feel the loss. If any make an erratic movement, a departure from the great law of love, we feel the shock.

2. I feel that those who refuse to speak and act on the subject of slavery, are neglectful of their duty as patriots and philanthropists. There is no one position more clearly established by facts, than that American slavery is productive of an incalculable amount of human suffering, both mental and physical. The position, that "slavery is a great national evil," is also established by a multitude of facts. The position has also been established, that men at the North and East have already secured the manumission of some slaves; have been instrumental in the conversion of many whites; have done much in the diffusion of truth, in the collection of facts for future action, and in waking up attention throughout the world. The question of duty is no longer, then, a local one—one confined to the South—but a national one, involving the interests and duty of every man.

The men of the North especially are called upon to speak and act; because they are placed under more favourable circumstances than the South, for the perception of the truth, being freed from the blinding influence of prejudice, *interest*, pride of power, and long-established habits. Every one who is at all acquainted with mind knows the blinding effect of these causes. I speak what I have felt and seen. And now, brethren at the North, if God has opened your eyes to a perception of the evils of slavery, can you, owing such duties as you do to your country and fellow-men, refuse to make known that evil?

Will you refuse to speak to those who are sitting in darkness? Has God lighted up a fire in your souls, that you should place over it a bushel, and hide it from all the world? No, brethren, rather place it upon "the candlestick," that it may give light to all in the house. The work to be done is a moral work—a change of mind and heart. The means to be employed is truth. We cannot call to our aid the mandate of the monarch. We cannot call to our aid the decision of a parliament. We must arouse the conscience, and convert the judgment. To do this, those who have the truth must hold it up before the eyes of the nation; hold it

there continuously, that its brightness may dispel the mist, wake the conscience, rouse the sensibilities, and determine the will. But, if those who have the light refuse to let it be seen, how shall the good be done? Speak on, then, brethren at the North. The South will not. She sees not her duty or interest. They are veiled from her. Cry with the importunity of one who mourns over the fatuity of a brother or sister. If you refuse, the poor slave must die in his chains—the ear of the Saviour's glory must be stayed in its triumphant march—the sun of our nation's greatness must sink in anarchy, confusion, and blood. But speak, and the victory is gained, "for truth is mighty, and will prevail." The conflict between light and darkness may be long, but the issue is certain. Speak on—but speak the language of love. Let there be no proscription, no railing, no abuse. "Let it be not so much as named among you." It will do no good, but evil, and evil only. I speak from experience. If life were closing, and I had but one sentence to utter in reference to slavery, I would say, Speak the language of love. Write not an article, speak not a sentence, without testing them by the principle of love. Love is the power by which Jesus will conquer the world.

A KENTUCKIAN.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR,—As an admirer of Mr. Bright, and a lover of the Anti-Slavery Society, I was grieved as well as amazed at the observations he made in the House of Commons relative to that institution. While, in common with some of my friends, I doubted the propriety of the course which the Society adopted on the slave-grown sugar question, I could not but see that much might be said in favour of that course of procedure; and I feel that, even supposing that the Society in this one instance had been in error, the prudence as well as vigilance which have usually marked its proceedings, give it an undeniable claim to the continued and zealous support of every friend of freedom. I have not seen Mr. Bright's subsequent apology or explanation, but I trust that he is still attached not only to the anti-slavery cause, but to the Anti-Slavery Society. Unfortunately, however, many persons who read his speech, think differently, and thus it may be feared that the Society will experience some little damage in that excellent reputation on which its usefulness much depends. Still, I flatter myself that the damage will be but trifling. Having for many years taken part in a provincial Anti-Slavery Association, and being just now, on account of a recent change of residence, unconnected with any anti-slavery association, I feel it to be my duty, on the principle that "every little helps," to express the opinion that I entertain of the inestimable value to the cause of humanity of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and of its "Reporter." I regret that the present state of my finances does not allow me to give proof of my goodwill by a contribution to its funds.

I am, SIR, yours respectfully,
JOHN BURDER.

Bristol, Sept. 16, 1843.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—The crop of 1843, it is said, will not bear any comparison with that of the former year, and it is expected will be about 2,000 hogsheads less. The reasons for this deficiency appear to be twofold—1st. The weather has not been, generally speaking, by any means as favourable as could have been desired; and secondly, the canes have not yielded to the extent that was expected. It is a remarkable fact that this has been the case in many, if not most of the West India islands. The canes have looked well, and to all appearance a large crop was likely to be reaped. When, however, they came to be cut and ground, it was found that there was a most extensive falling-off. What are the circumstances which combined to produce this deceitful appearance and subsequent disappointment, we confess ourselves incapable of determining. They are not local, however, as regards this island, nor any particular one where the fact has been disclosed. Nor is the state of trade or mercantile affairs better than when we last wrote. A general dullness, almost amounting to gloom, prevails, and great difficulty is experienced in procuring money. The anniversary of negro freedom has passed off with the usual quiet and freedom from tumult. Throughout the island, with few exceptions, the places of religious worship were opened and well attended. The emancipated appear generally to consider this as a day that ought to be set apart to religious exercises. The legislature refused to make it a perpetual holiday; but there is every prospect of its becoming one, for there is no day, the sabbath perhaps excepted, which is more generally observed throughout the island. The preparations for it on this side of the country were active. Drove of men and women were to be met on the roads for some days previous going to and returning from the market of this city, where they disposed of the products of their grounds, and procured the articles of food, drink, and clothing, with which they purposed to make merry. Their conduct throughout has been remarkably orderly and peaceable. We wish their numbers could be quadrupled, and their comforts increased in the same proportion.—*Morning Journal*, August 8.

Marshal Bertrand, the zealous friend of the late renowned Napoleon Bonaparte, with his son Napoleon Bertrand, arrived on Monday in the French brig of war *Mercure*, from *Port au Prince*. The marshal, it is said, is on a mission of inquiry into the working of emancipation in the West Indies.—*Middlesex (Jamaica) Gazette*, August 9th.

Cotton has recently been cultivated with success and to some extent, in Jamaica.—*Berbee Royal Gazette*, August 8th.

On Monday evening a prayer meeting for the suffering slaves in Cuba, America, and other parts of the world, was held at Falmouth. An address was given on slavery by the pastor of the church, and extracts read from "Slavery and the internal State of the Slave-trade of the United States," and from "Cuban Slavery" by Dr. Madden.—*Baptist Herald*, August 16, 1843.

BARBADOS.—The weather, since last we wrote under this head, has been most propitious for the agriculturist. More rain has fallen during the few days just past than we have had in the month of July for several years. The crop is almost reaped, and the amount of produce shipped to the 1st inst., is—18,808 hogsheads, 930 tierces, 602 barrels, sugar; 3,210 puncheons, 244 hogsheads, 31 barrels, molasses; 275 packages, arrowroot; 5 packages, ginger; 199 bales, cotton; 4,620 gourds, aloes. We understand that the probable amount of the sugar crop will be about 30,000 hogsheads. The prospect of the fine weather, and a good crop for the ensuing year, has raised the drooping spirits of our planters. We regret that it is not in our power to report any great improvement in commercial affairs. Some few ships have left this port since the 1st inst.; but the imports for the year have been, we fear, limited. The operation of the Import tax has had the effect which we foretold.—*West Indian*, July 6.

TRINIDAD.—The returns of produce shipped from this island show a yearly increase of sugar since the year 1830. In 1830, the quantity shipped from 1st January to 31st May was 8,291 hogsheads, 436 tierces, and 1,724 barrels. In 1843, the quantity was—12,649 hogsheads, 769 tierces, and 2,547 barrels, with a due proportion of molasses. There had not been a similar increase in cocoa and coffee.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—DISAPPEARANCE OF PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.—The Cape Town papers report most satisfactorily of the progress of education in the infant school there. The committee state, "that no symptom of pride, humiliation, aversion, or jealousy, on account of colour, national extraction, or language, has been seen in this school, either in the class or in the play-ground. So completely, indeed, have these superficial distinctions vanished from their eyes, elevated as they are from infancy to the real characteristics of the human race—intelligence, moral worth, and good manners, that it would now be as difficult to restore such prejudices by direct teaching, as it was formerly to check or root them out. And the committee are further of opinion, that the presence in the same school, under wise regulations and efficient management, of so many varieties of the human family, is of itself an advantage of incalculable value to each of the children in the formation of character."

Foreign Intelligence.

SWEDEN.—MEDITATED ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN ST. BARTHOLOMEW.—In the last intelligence from Stockholm we are put in possession of the following gratifying communication, which appeared in the *Staatssamfundningen* of the 2nd instant:—"The Diet, in an address of the 30th of May, 1841, respectfully expressed to the King their wish that his Majesty might be pleased to inquire how slavery might be abolished in the island of St. Bartholomew, and take all such measures as should seem the best calculated to prepare for the attainment of that important object. The King communicated this address to Colonel Hansum, the Governor of the colony, with directions to send to his Majesty all information on the subject respecting the number of slaves in the colony, their treatment and condition, the sum that would be required to purchase their freedom, the inclination of the inhabitants to co-operate in such emancipation, and the influence which it might have on the commercial and agricultural interests of the island. The Governor's reply of the 9th of June, 1842, was submitted to his Majesty on the 30th of July following, by the Colonial Department. Colonel Hansum gave minutes respecting the condition of the slaves. He shows that they are treated with mildness and all possible indulgence; that, as far as bodily comforts go, their condition is not worse than that of free labourers and servants in Europe; that, however, a state of slavery is attended with a certain degradation of humanity, which has an unfavourable influence on the morality of the individual, and which is especially manifested in the infrequency of marriage among the slaves, who live in a state of concubinage, and have no right over their children, who belong to the slave-owners, by whom they may be sold, with the observance of the restrictions prescribed by the laws; that therefore, for the sake of humanity, and the improvement of the moral condition of the individuals, it were to be wished that slavery were abolished in St. Bartholomew; that the only means of effecting this consisted in the indemnity that might be given to the slave proprietors; that, besides the justice of such indemnity, it is agreed in the convention of the 1st of July, 1784, by which France ceded to Sweden St. Bartholomew, that the inhabitants should continue to enjoy all the rights which they then possessed; that the number of slaves at present is 595, to purchase whose emancipation (after dividing them into classes, according to age and sex) the Colonel proposes a total sum of 20,275*l.* sterling. In the mean time, till these measures can be duly examined and carried into effect, he proposes various regulations to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, conformably to his Majesty's instructions. In the protocol on colonial affairs of the 30th of July, 1842, his Majesty ordered that Colonel Hansum's report, and his proposal of emancipation, should be laid before the next assembly of the Estates of the kingdom, and that, in the mean time, the regulations proposed by him for the benefit of the slaves shall be immediately adopted, and carried into effect in the colony."

UNITED STATES.—The newspapers of the United States daily teem with fresh instances of the beauties of those "domestic institutions" which are the glory of the Slave States, and with which the more civilized communities of the North and East consent to be linked in a Mesentian union. The following flagrant case has very recently fallen under our notice. It occurred at Princetown, in New Jersey. In this community was living a peaceable and orderly citizen, named James Johnson. He was a coloured man, but was subsisting in quiet prosperity, and, spite of all the prejudices against his caste, was admitted to have conducted himself after he settled there "with the greatest propriety." He was living in apparent security, and, had he considered his liberty in any danger, there was nothing at any time to prevent him from securing it across the British lines, or elsewhere. After five years' enjoyment of it he was arrested as a fugitive

slave from Maryland, and a person claiming to be his master, named Thomas, now residing in Mississippi, found a barrister, named Wallace, to urge the infamous suit. Brought before a magistrate to show cause why he should not yield himself to slavery, he claimed the benefit due *prima facie* to every free man charged with a crime involving the slightest penalty, much more one so horrible as a life of slavery under an incensed master, of a trial by jury. The general law, the Act of Congress of the "free and enlightened Republic," is, that this awful doom may be pronounced by any magistrate, on bare examination of witnesses; that the mere arbitrary decree of one man, sitting in the most inferior of its courts, and whose jurisdiction would not be final even in a case of petty larceny, involving a penalty of some few days' imprisonment, shall rule the future destiny of any coloured man, perhaps as free, in point both of right and of law as himself. But the legislature of New Jersey, greatly to its credit, has modified the savage cruelty of the Federal Republic, by passing a law, that every man whose liberty is thus assailed shall have the benefit of a trial by jury. This Johnson claimed; and, though the opposing counsel contended that the local act was not good if adverse to the general one, the magistrate decided that it was, and remitted the case to a jury. The jury considered the evidence that the man had formerly been the slave of the claimant was sufficient, and found for the latter. The unfortunate defendant, however, had made friends among those with whom he had lived, who exerted themselves to avert the consummation of this horrible iniquity. They raised the sum of three hundred dollars, for the purpose of purchasing his liberty; but his owner demanded five hundred and fifty dollars, had him ironed forthwith, and put him in a waggon to drive him off. He attempted to escape, and his friends attempted to rescue him, when, we learn, "some of the students at Princetown College, from the South, took part, and *dirks and knives were drawn*." The weapons of assassins well become the hands of the man-stealer; but alas for the country, where those base and ferocious instincts replace the generous emotions in the bosom of youth. Had the students of Princetown College raised among themselves, by subscription, the trifling sum necessary to complete the redemption from bondage of their fellow-creature, and, while as slave-owners they asserted the legality of the act, had they as men sympathized with the misery of its victim, they would have done something to extenuate the shocking cruelty of the law on which they insisted, and have brightened the accursed institution itself with one redeeming beam of light. The demand of the owner now rose to six hundred dollars, and at this price poor Johnson's freedom was purchased. A lady advanced five hundred dollars, on his undertaking to repay her by instalments of labour distributed over five years, and the remainder was freely contributed by his less wealthy neighbours. It is but justice to add, that all the American newspapers which we have seen, speak in commendable terms of indignation of this affair.

ARREST OF AN ABOLITIONIST IN MARYLAND.—William Wall, an Englishman by birth, but recently of Bucks county, Pa., was arrested on Monday last, at a camp meeting near Everstine's, in Alleghany county (Md) charged with disseminating incendiary publications, and inflaming and exciting the slaves against their masters. On Tuesday he was committed, in default of bail, to answer for the felony at the next term.—*Liberator*, September 8.

REV. J. W. E. PENNINGTON.—This gentleman, who attended the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and afterwards made an interesting speech on the state of the abolition cause, and the popular prejudices against men of colour in America, (and who also preached at Queen-street chapel, Leeds,) has safely reached home at Hartford, Connecticut, and resumed his ministerial duties. When on his voyage to New York by the *Great Western*, an American passenger showed the strength of his prejudices by demanding that Mr. Pennington, being a man of colour, should not sit at the same table with the whites! But Captain Hosken maintained the consistency and liberality of England, and protected the reverend gentleman from a shameful insult intended him.—*Leeds Mercury*.

PUNISHMENT OF SLAVES.—Wesley and Smith, two slaves, were tried for robbery in New Orleans, on the 8th September, agreeably to the provisions of the black code, by a tribunal composed of Recorder Baldwin and two citizens. They were charged with robbing Mr. James Raney of 635 dollars. Wesley was acquitted; Smith was found guilty and sentenced to seventy-five lashes—twenty-five a day, and well laid on—and to wear a three-pronged iron collar for six months.—*Cincinnati Daily Times*.

CONVENTION OF COLOURED PEOPLE.—A national convention of coloured men was in session at Buffalo, during all of last week. All the non-slaveholding States, and several of the others, were represented by seventy-five delegates. The object was to devise means to elevate the condition of their race. An address to the coloured people was adopted—making a stirring appeal to them for action in the great cause of self-advancement, and showing that all other causes of their debasement may be removed, except that of colour.—*Essex Transcript*, September 1.

A CUTE TRICK OF RUNAWAY NEGROES.—The *N. Y. Standard* states, that recently about twenty slaves in the state of Maryland took it into their heads to make a push for Canada. They met together in a common band, in Baltimore county. They proceeded as far as the bridge at Havre de Grace, when they sent two of their number forward, to make the experiment of crossing. The gate-keeper refused to let them pass. The couple then returned to their companions; when, after some consultation, they built a coffin of rough boards, put it on a bier, and placed one of their number in it. Then, in a solemn funeral procession, they marched up to the bridge and asked the privilege of crossing to bury their friend on the other side. The ruse took. The procession crossed over, and kept on the highway, till they got out of sight; they then took the woods again, and resurrected their dead companion.

CUBA.—We learn that a line of telegraphs is about to be established from one end of Cuba to the other. It is stated that intelligence will be conveyed from one extremity of the island to the other in about eight minutes. Cuba, if we remember aright, is

about eleven degrees in length, and the value of transmitting intelligence that distance in so short a time can be easily imagined. It is very evident the Cubans are on the *qui vive*, as though they expected some important occurrences at no distant period.—*Jamaica Morning Journal*, July 15.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—We learn that the *Albatross* vessel of war, which arrived here on Friday last, reports the landing of several cargoes of slaves on the coast of Cuba, previous to her leaving that part of the coast, but that her orders were such as to preclude her taking any decided step as to securing any of them.—*Jamaica Journal*.

Miscellanea.

INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY.—Judge Jay, in answer to a committee inviting him to a meeting in Albany, thus writes:—"Slavery is corrupting our religion, erecting the barriers of caste in the very temples of our common Redeemer, and converting a dispensation of mercy into an instrument for the degradation and oppression of millions of immortal and accountable beings for whom Christ died. Too many of our clergy are tithing mint, and anise, and cummin; while they not only omit, but actually despise and insult the weightier matters of the law, judgment and mercy: and are thus giving great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme. Nor are the influences of slavery on our civil rights less malignant than upon our religious duties. Southern votes are freely offered and received for the surrender of the right of petition, the liberty of the press, and the freedom of debate. This detestable traffic is rapidly undermining our liberties, and debasing our national character. Demagoguism is substituted for patriotism; and hollow appeals to love of country, and to popular prejudices, cover the most mercenary treason to liberty and humanity. Ruffian mobs commit horrible outrages upon the persons and property of our citizens, through love of the constitution; printing presses are broken and churches are sacked, from affection for our southern brethren; while a regard for the public tranquillity drives petitioners from the halls of Congress, puts gags into the mouths of our representatives, and leads postmasters to violate their oaths by rifling the mails of such matter as they are pleased to think incendiary. The sanctity of the American flag demands that it should not be the palladium of every villain, of every nation, who thinks proper to display it at the mast-head of his African slaver."—*Essex Transcript*, August 25.

LOSS OF LIFE ON THE RIVER—HEROIC CONDUCT OF A LAD OF COLOUR.—Yesterday, about one o'clock, the body of a young man, named William Wright, was taken out of the river off Millbank, having been drowned on the previous day (Sunday), under very melancholy circumstances; and it is miraculous that the loss of life did not extend to fifteen human beings, but this is chiefly owing to the heroic conduct of a lad of colour, of the name of Snell, it is stated, who was the means of rescuing no less than six of the persons who were immersed in the water. He had actually gone in for the seventh time to secure the rescue of the unfortunate deceased, whom he reached and caught hold of; but finding the suction of the barges too great for him in his exhausted state, and fearing that if he continued his attempts both lives would be sacrificed, he reluctantly made for the shore alone.—*Morning Chronicle*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subs.
R. N. K. of B.....	1 0 0	
Guildenburgh, Coning, Ann.....		1 0 0
Helstone, Anti-Slavery Society.....	1 13 8	
Leominster—Newman, George.....		2 0 0
Pritchard, John (for Convention).....	3 10 0	
Southall, E. P.		2 0 0
Southall, John		2 0 0
Southall, Samuel		2 0 0

The genius of the gospel is opposed to bondage and vassalage of every kind. It protects the power of kings, magistrates, and masters, but only their right and proper power. It opposes every species of tyranny, and that in two ways; by raising men whose lot is cast in the lowest grade of society to a sense of their own worth, as equal to all others in the possession of immortality, and equally the objects of the favour and protection of God. Thus the mean, crouching, abject spirit that can be reconciled to tyranny, is effectually destroyed. And, secondly, by teaching men in the highest ranks to be just, ruling in the fear of God; to be the ministers of God for good to others; to condescend to men of low estate, and to be kind and merciful to all; being so, they can hold none of their fellow-creatures in slavish and ignominious subjection. The reign of Christianity, therefore, must be productive of liberty. Wherever it reigns liberty prevails, tyranny is crushed, and the slave rises to the dignity of a rational, accountable, and immortal creature. This is the answer to the frivolous objection, that, because Christianity nowhere denounces slavery in plain terms, it is not directly opposed to such a state of society. Men who look only on the surface of the New Testament, may hold such an opinion, and, if announced from high authority, may quote it as a golden sentence; but he who surveys the principles of the book, and watches the natural course of their operation, must see that their prevalence involves the death blow of that coercion necessary to the perpetuation of slavery, and of that detestable meanness of soul that lies prostrate under it.—*Leifchild's Discourses*.

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